

863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed
861 is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad." She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior
[124] of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] * The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning
[196] bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust
[154] usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

Childhood

49

property.¹⁰ From this time on a male must avoid looking at the genitals of any woman except those of a lover or wife. 864

The sexual response for which a boy is most severely punished during childhood is that of tumescence in public. Any female who observes a boy with an erect penis is expected to beat the member with a stick. It is usually the boy's older *sister* who takes the responsibility for inflicting this punishment. I never saw this punishment actually administered, but I did observe boys with erections on two occasions. While playing at my house one morning Ham had an erection. His older *brothers*, Gwiwap and Mey, noticed it and teased him about it. They told him that he should be ashamed of himself and warned him not to let any females see him that way. On another occasion Fit was observed by his playmates with an erect penis and was similarly teased. Shortly after this I was visiting at Fit's house. His *brother*, Gwiwap, began telling his older *sisters*, Awa and Kwiya, about what had happened to Fit, illustrating the story in a joking manner by putting a stick between his legs. Awa and Kwiya laughed at Gwiwap but they scolded Fit. "You had better not let us catch you that way or we will beat you. What are you, a baby? You should be old enough to control yourself." Fit was much discomfited at this. He denied the truth of Gwiwap's story, told him to shut up, and finally left the house sullenly. Kwoma inculcation on this point is apparently very effective for I observed no adult, and, in fact, no other child with an erection.

A boy is also restricted from fingering his genitals. Any-one who observes a child touching his penis scolds him for it. They tell him that he should not do it because this part of his body belongs to his future wife, and that masturbation will cause injury to his penis. The training is effective enough to prevent the child, who during the weaning period was allowed to touch his penis, from persisting in this habit. I did not observe any boy child manipulate his genitals, and

¹⁰ *Enji mbumbowi*—"My something." This expression is also used to establish property rights, thus bringing the act in context with offenses against ownership and property.

882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing."
[44] The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[46] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest
rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants
agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence
of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On
one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits,
I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister.
He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my
real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are
my 'sisters nothing.'¹⁸ If I had sexual intercourse with her, I
would be terribly guilty.¹⁹ These other sisters are all right."²⁰

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[36] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There
is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual
relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] ¹⁸ *Sumwa sumwa mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sa-*
[196] *kawa*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

¹⁹ *Ilumba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma
use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety.
While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments
that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence,
and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling.
It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would
be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[335] ²⁰ A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[339] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the
swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home.
They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told
them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son.
Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a
father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an
asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on
sexual behavior between brother and sister.

Adulthood

123

tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's uncle and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyaap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."

²⁰ *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

593 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual inter-
833 course even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when
833 she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;²¹ nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

²¹ Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

(593)
(833)
(513)
(192)
196

835 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one
539 night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she
was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown
daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all
his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tam-
beran to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo,
and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, em-
barked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he
cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and
drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to
have sexual intercourse with his daughter."²²

837 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when
835 they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of prox-
602 imity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of
a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are
classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are

[262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he
eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent
philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from
this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to
an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *broth-
er's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coopera-
tive economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by
eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior
[578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such
adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The ac-
cused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he
can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in
Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by
his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and,
if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful
enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or
be killed.²³

[62] ²² It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds
[92] him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he
[96] committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is
• *homba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and
about sleeping with one's wife.

²³ Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river
tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had
he stayed, War might have killed him.

Process of Socialization

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing 121
as his would-be teacher wished.

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently 861
than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar
circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a
teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded
them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the
teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right re-
sponse, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in
the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired
rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following
way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma
teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have be- [192]
haved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to [196] •
rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well
as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with
things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all
children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is
inherent in such objects, because they have been punished
for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a
pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these
words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the
power to evoke feelings of fear.

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in [192]
scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "in- [196]
fant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an
infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older
brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this
phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough
so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used
in many contexts in which children are barred from doing
what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean
the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will [304]
mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in
order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the
motivational power of this concept.

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sago briquettes, she asked Mey to pass her the two sticks which Kwoma housewives use to stir and ladle the thick gruel. Mey brought her two old sticks which she had long since discarded rather than the desired ones. She made Mey take the wrong ones back and get the right ones and began scolding him for his inattention and stupidity. Mey stood looking sullen and sheepish, and heard out her tirade. In this case the drive was anxiety evoked by the scolding; the response was looking sullen and sheepish and listening; the cues included being told to get stirring sticks and the memory of having brought his mother the wrong ones; the reward was reduction of fear (after she stopped scolding him). Thus listening and not talking back, rather than running away, was the response reinforced in this case.²¹ The right response, of paying attention when spoken to, would be learned by Mey when on the next occasion he was asked to do something by his mother, did it correctly, and was not scolded for it. 121 86(

Threatening is the third technique of motivating pupils employed by Kwoma teachers. A threat, like scolding, activates the acquired drive of fear in the pupil, but it differs from scolding in that it precedes the wrong or not right response. A threat is an "if . . . then" statement—"if you do such and such, then I will scold or beat you." Threats are used by Kwoma teachers in situations where they foresee that the pupil is likely to make a wrong response, either because the pupil is beginning to make such a response or because the teacher's knowledge of the pupil's habits suggests that he may do so. Kwoma teachers employ the technique of threatening as widely as scolding although perhaps not as frequently, since it is usually more difficult to predict a wrong response than it is to observe one.

Threats, like scolding, depend for their motivational power upon the acquired drive of fear. The phrase most commonly employed by the Kwoma teacher when threatening a pupil is *anafa fiju*, "I will beat you." *Fiju* is the term employed for all types of physical violence and injury. It has [192] [196] •

²¹ Unfortunately I observed no case of a child being specifically scolded or punished for talking back, but informants stated that this did occur.

121 the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju*
 861 was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and
 [192] Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to
 • [196] denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with
 a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully
 spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunt-
 ing raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many
 of which have been directly experienced and all of which are
 known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa*
fiju should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually
 carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not
 heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the
 power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a
 technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch
 at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started
 carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both
 noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at
 first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so
 at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive
 was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the
 broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given
 by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under
 the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the re-
 ward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be
 seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat dif-
 ferent from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the
 first place, the right response is made immediately rather
 than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motiva-
 tion is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when
 the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is
 consequently greater.²²

121 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In
 626 Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more
 602 important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] ²² The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the
 strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of
 Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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pressing work of their own to do; the reward was getting the log to the house tambaran plot. Yat's helpers thus taught him to give a feast by helping him. 121 861

Not giving and not helping are also techniques which are frequently used to arouse motivation. Kwoma teachers may punish a pupil by refusing to help him or give to him, after he has made a wrong response, or they may threaten him by promising not to help him or not to give to him if he should make a wrong response. The threat of breaking relationship is effective, not only because it implies aggression, but also because it implies withdrawal of support. Thus War's threat that he would break relationship with Gwiyap if he did not stop taking sago from Payap's plot, implied withdrawal of help and was effective in changing Gwiyap's behavior for this reason as well as because it implicitly threatened the kinds of aggression which kinship restrictions inhibit.

Praising is the third technique of rewarding used by Kwoma teachers. It is an acquired reward on the verbal level. As with other rewards, it may be employed either in conjunction with motivation and guidance or alone. A Kwoma teacher most frequently employs this technique when a pupil has performed an unexpectedly "good" response rather than merely a right one. Kwoma pupils are thus reinforced for excelling, for doing better than others, and this may explain in part why Kwoma individuals strive for superiority and prestige.

One of the phrases frequently employed in praising is *handombas*, "good." This word gains its power to reinforce habits by being frequently used in rewarding contexts. A Kwoma will pat his stomach after a good meal and say "*handombas*," or he will say it when he is greeting a friend, or he will use it to refer to someone or something that he likes. He also uses it to describe tasty food, good workmanship, or someone whom he regards highly. As a result, *handombas* comes to have a relaxing or acquired reward value,²² and thus has the effect of reinforcing preceding habits when-

²² See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

[192]
[196]•

153 208

Becoming a Kwoma

121 big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones,
 869 generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the
 776 warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

121 Ghosts are described not only as having human form but
 869 as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma
 153 seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify
 775 the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a
 Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the
 ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night.
 Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus
 the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a
 child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings
 about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen
 the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children
 are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and ani-
 mals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night,
 it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus
 fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from
 men.

121 Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contami-
 869 nated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food
 754 which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word
 153 (*kaftea sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to de-
 [192] scribe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child
 [196] becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against
 eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings
 about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sor-
 cery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings
 concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a per-
 son is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another
 person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can
 be harmed by sorcery also.

121 A realistic source from which fears about blood contamina-
 869 tion may spring is less evident. The following suggestions
 826 may be made. When sickness results from food which is really
 153 contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to
 avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly,
 [196] the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are
 [272]

Supernatural Beliefs

209 153

made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhor- 121
rence may generalize through the common term to the drink- 869
ing of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated 826
with it.⁶ 196
272

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of 121
considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural 869
beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imita- 861
tion took its place along with teaching as one of the two most
important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although
imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a
Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like
other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the
same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely,
Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experi-
ence pain when they behave differently from these models.
This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of
being in a dangerous situation.⁷ Thus to behave differently
from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil,
whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward
value.⁸

The following case will illustrate the way in which super- 121
natural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I 869
started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were [123]
visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts,
but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

⁶ Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

⁷ The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

⁸ See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eva told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eva left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred -- not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs

[124] which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the
[23] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to

• [126] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilewas

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
 196 for the big masks on the altar at the "singsing", and is a special term
 of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more
 accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is subriyawi
 which is 'to dream' and subwif which is the term for "singsing" and another
 term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as
 "look in tamberunk(ghosts)," there seems to be some connection which may
 throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already
 noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people.
 Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation
 was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's
 wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are
 thought to be non-functional appendages.

124 This reminds me that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent
 of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of
 anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there
 was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like
 sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured
 that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing
 so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that
 it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone
 anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other
 place - Yenbou, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however,
 because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal
 of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor
 and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
 000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next